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## "BEAUTY AND THE BEAST" IN ORAL TRADITION

Jan-Öjvind Swahn

When documentation of the European folk tales really got under way in the spirit and in imitation of the Brothers Grimm during the years 1825-1850, folklorists were in many ways at their last moment. Oral rendering of traditional tales was not quite on its last legs and was to continue for yet another century, at least in certain countries and in certain folk groups. The nature of that which was told, and thereby the quality of the material collected, had nevertheless already been changed at the time when the first folklore collectors carried out their pioneer work. The process had begun long before but had gathered momentum during the 18th century. The part of this development which interests us in this instance is, of course, the invasion on a wide front of the written word in the kingdom of folk tales, made possible by an increasing literacy, which inevitably meant the beginning of the end of the art of oral narrative, since it relies, unfortunately, on continued illiteracy. A rising flood of works issued from the book printers of Europe, designed to entertain the masses, plus an increasing number of books for elementary education with their easily learned stories, some of which were taken from native and some from international folklore, whereas others represented "fakelore" or pseudo folklore.

I am disregarding here the older sort of chapbooks, the voluminous renaissance popular novels like *Helen of Constantino* or *Fortunatus*. They were, as regards style and contents, hardly suitable for satisfying the need for reading material of the contemporary broad mass of the people. Nor had the easily counted 16th and 17th century Italian folk tale books (I am thinking of the pioneers Straparola, 1550, and Basile, 1634), with their bombastic, pompous language, any chance of becoming popular outside the circle of educated readers. Their texts therefore had no measurable influence on the oral folk tale tradition, not even in Italy.

The situation changed radically around the turn of the century 1600/1700 when, above all, Perrault's *Contes de ma Mère l'Oye* presented fairly authentic folk tales in a way which made them suitable for publishing in broadsides: a printed sheet of 8 to 16 pages. Perrault's tales became "gefundenes Fressen" for printers in many countries. During the second half of the 18th century and up to about 1880 stories such as "Puss in Boots," "Bluebeard," and "Cinderella" were continually published in new editions. In Sweden alone there are more than 80 known edi-

tions of "Cinderella," for example, and one should remember that these publications, which were despised by the cultural élite, were only to some extent added to the collections of the public libraries. Most of them have been lost, especially the older ones.

In regard to the 18th century French "Conte de fées" literature, one can assume that it was given some dissemination among the Francophile upper classes of contemporary Europe. *Le Cabinet des Fées* is frequently found in manor libraries, and there you can also often find the early French folk tale books, such as d'Aulnoy's. Towards the end of the 18th century the German literary tales of such writers as Musäus appealed to a wider circle of readers. These works, written to please the reading taste of the time, seldom if ever left the world of the salon and therefore can be discounted as having had any effect on oral folk tradition in Europe. It was therefore, with very few exceptions, not Mme de Villeneuve's version of "La Belle et la Bête" which entered into folk tradition, even though it was translated into, e.g., German, but the text of Mme Leprince de Beaumont. The next collection of folk tales that was able to compete with Perrault for the interest of a wider readership was that issued by the Brothers Grimm, which from 1820 was not only published and translated in its entirety but also partly edited in broadsheet form.

*Le Magasin des Enfants* did not belong to any of these categories but enjoyed a special function instead, namely as a French textbook, particularly for girls under tuition from governesses or other private teachers. Its importance in this respect is supported by the fact that it was published in its original language in several countries, including Sweden, and in translation in some others, including Greece. Only one of its tales was based on folklore, "La Belle et la Bête," which obviously conformed to oral tradition, since it was so widely incorporated with most national repertoires of folk tales in Europe. Not one of the other texts in the same collection has passed into popular tradition; they were all too "fakeluristic."

That a printed tale should transfer itself into the oral tradition is of course quite normal, though one can usually point to more popular, widely spread and cheaper media than the somewhat exclusive *Magasin des Enfants*. "La Belle et la Bête" has not been published in cheap, easily obtainable editions in the same way as "Cinderella" or "Bluebeard." Their popularity among the peasant classes during the 18th and 19th centuries is very difficult to understand. It is an example of "gesunkenes Kulturgut" where only the source is beyond question. How is it possible that of all the many *contes de fées* which were published during the 18th century and which after 1705 were more and more "literary" and less and less "popular," just this one should

develop a life of its own in the oral tradition – and maintain it over several centuries?

There is, of course, a solution to the problem which eliminates all questions of doubt and that is the simple explanation that "La Belle et la Bête" was, from the beginning, an ordinary oral folk tale which spread in the traditional way just as the other tales did. In that case, it would have been the three French folk-tale collectors/editors d'Aulnoy, de Villeneuve and Leprince de Beaumont, who first documented a tale type, already existing in a large part of Europe, which later, independently of the literary form, continued to exist in traditional form. There are several parallels to this process. Perrault's literary and slightly paraphrased version of "Cinderella" retells a much older and well-rooted oral tradition, which certainly with the help of the printed word received a boost at the expense of other subtypes. But in the same way that the oral tradition that derives its origin from Perrault's Cinderella tale can often be recognized by special motifs of Perrault's own invention, like the "little glass slipper"; there are details especially in Leprince de Beaumont's "La Belle et la Bête" that tie the oral versions to their source.

One of these is the unfolklore-like but regularly recurring name of the heroine "Belle," and also several characteristics in the description of the various facilities of the enchanted palace and the design of the actual transformation of the beast, etc.<sup>1</sup>

These conformities appear capriciously throughout the whole area of distribution of the tale in a way which, to the folklore scholar, is a clear indication of "literary" mediation. The various records of "La Belle et la Bête" do not show any tendencies whatsoever towards localized versions that can be pinned down to specific geographic areas, one might call them "ecotypes" or "redactions" or something else. This too is a strong argument for a non-oral transmission. It is my firm conviction concerning "La Belle et la Bête" and its background that Mme Leprince de Beaumont wrote an abbreviated paraphrase based on Mme de Villeneuve's tale and changed mainly the ending.

The piquant ending of Mme de Villeneuve's version, where the Beast is transformed into a prince the morning after sharing his bed with the Beauty, has by Mme Leprince de Beaumont been made more decent by making the heroin splash the head of the apparently dead monster with water and promise to marry it if it will only come to life again. Thus the Beast turns into a handsome prince.

It seems plausible to me that Leprince de Beaumont was inspired to make this change of the ending to the tale by Mme d'Aulnoy's tale "Le Mouton," which was published in the first volume of her "Les Contes des Fées." The ending of that tale is tragic (the heroine cannot revive her dead lamb), something that would not be a suitable ending to a children's fairy tale.

D'Aulnoy drew most of her tales from living tradition, but handled the contents in an arbitrary way. Two truly "destroyed" versions of subtype 425B from the same collection can be mentioned as examples.

Before I pass on to a more detailed discussion of the oral tradition of "La Belle et la Bête," I would like to remind the reader of a few basic typological facts. The tale constitutes its own subtype within the group of tales known as "The Search for the Lost Husband." The main type has in Aarne's and Thompson's classification (latest edition, 1961) been given the type number 425, which divides into subtypes A-P.<sup>2</sup> With the exception of subtypes A and B, which Thompson has allowed to change places, this conforms to my own suggestion from 1955.<sup>3</sup> At that time I gave the subtype "La Belle et la Bête" the designation 425C, a praxis which has been followed by most folklore researchers and archivists since then. Of the other subtypes it is in this context only Thompson's 425A, "The Monster as Bridegroom," which should be considered. It is in this form of the tale that the heroine, after having broken some sort of taboo, must go off on a long journey to seek her lost husband, whom she regains by giving expensive gifts obtained on her journey to pay for three nights in his bedroom. The first two nights he is drugged into sleep but on the third night he remains awake and she is reunited with her husband. Subtype 425B, "The Disenchanted Husband: The Witch's Tasks," which is certainly the oldest form of the tale and which inspired Apuleius to his pseudomyth "Cupid and Psyche" from the 2nd Century A.D., is, however, of no interest in a study of the subtype C, "La Belle et la Bête," and its fate in tradition. Whilst the hybrid crossing of subtypes A and C is common, depending mainly upon manifest conformity in the first half of the tale (within certain areas of tradition, compare below!), I know of no examples of tales in which subtypes B and C have been mixed.

There are more than 300 registered copies of version 425C, "La Belle et la Bête," from oral tradition, noted in scholarly investigations of type 425 or taken up in published or non-published folk tale type indices. As far as folk tales with roots in printed sources are concerned, there are only the Cinderella tales deriving from Perrault's text that are known in a larger number of records in folk tradition. The relationship between Leprince du Beaumont's text and the oral tradition which it created is of major interest to folk tale research.

Is obvious booklore a suitable subject for folklore researchers? "La Belle et la Bête" is, after all, a secondary, non-folklore type of printed tale, which earlier generations of field workers would not have considered worth the effort of recording, at least not if they had been aware of its background in literature. How unfortunate! Those overly ambitious and expert collec-

tors who were sufficiently conversant with the classical tale collections to be able to identify a living oral tradition which had a printed source, the Brothers Grimm's tales or tales from the Arabian Nights, turned up their noses at such worthless material. What a pity, since even these records of tales could surely have offered a number of important aspects. The continued existence of the printed folk tale in oral tradition is namely a research topic which can be used in several ways in the general discussion on the terms of existence of oral folk literature.

I will not say that there have not been researchers who have understood the importance of the printed word in folk tradition. Far from it. On the contrary, since 1920 there have been considerable tendencies to that way of thinking, especially in central European folk tale research exemplified by the German/Czechoslovakian Middle Ages expert Albert Wesselski. Wesselski went so far as to say that the oral tradition could not survive more than three generations in succession without the support of the printed word and maintained that folk tales were mainly a product of 18th century literature and had literature to thank for their dissemination.<sup>4</sup>

Wesselski was largely influenced by the attitude, prevalent in ethnological circles of fifty years ago, that it is upper class culture which guides folk culture and that elements of folk culture should be regarded as "gesunkenes Kulturgut." Whilst this attitude has been reevaluated in regard to other areas of research, it is again gaining ground in the field of folklore research, even if mostly among those who approach the subject from the starting point of literary history and who only deal with folklore tales "en passant." To those who have such an attitude to folklore the researcher's task is reduced to investigating the literary source lying behind a given tradition, a somewhat trivial attitude to take. It should be underlined that this method, nevertheless, does not belong to the densely populated cemetery of obsolete folklore theories. Unfortunately not. It is very much alive and well. In regard to type 425, "Cupid and Psyche," which we are discussing here, the German Detlev Fehling has used similar theories with great emphasis to derive not only the subtype "La Belle et la Bête," but even the worldwide renowned subtype A (the one with the three nights in the husband's bedroom) from Leprince de Beaumont's French 18th century version, which he believes was created by Leprince de Beaumont from motives found in Apuleius' Roman "myth" and different texts by d'Aulnoy. Regarding his statements I refer you to the criticism I made recently in a debate with Fehling during a folklore congress in Greece.<sup>5</sup>

Does this theory hold true? Can folklore research be restricted to a mechanical discovery of folk tale prototypes in upper-class literature? No, of course it is not that simple.

Wesselski and his followers such as Fehling have been wearing blinkers as they worked. They didn't see what they didn't want to see. In their polemic they have not considered the most important objections which can be directed towards their doctrine, namely the fact that folk tale traditions have demonstrably been able to survive for thousands of years without the slightest support from literature, and that completely illiterate cultures can be the possessors of folk tale treasures which in many cases are identical to the European equivalents and therefore obviously of great age.

Literature has certainly had great influence on the oral folk tradition—I would be the last to deny this. However, that influence has not been as great as Wesselski would have us believe. The problem can perhaps be formulated thus: It is a question of separating those traditions which, in the details of their motifs, show that they might possibly have been affected by printed versions, or through their deviation from well known traditional types of which there are relatively few, show that they stem from non-popular sources which could reasonably be assumed to have been disseminated and read among simple people and in the social strata in which the tales have been told. An obvious subject for study would be to analyze how these or less traditional tales have changed when transferred to being told orally and further how the earlier existing oral tradition has later been affected by the printed word.

One must, in this case, distinguish between different types of literary tales. First of all there is a group of completely fabricated tales, which have no particular relationship to folklore, which we come across in Christmas Magazines and children's books. They are quite commonly found in records of traditions made during this century. A good example is Hertha Grudde's collection of East Prussian tales, made in the 1930s, where a considerable proportion of the records can be traced back to such sources, even if the subjects interviewed have themselves honestly assured Mrs. Grudde that they heard them from other carriers of tradition and not read them in books.<sup>6</sup> Friedrich Ranke showed, in a review, that most of these tales could be traced to the well-known German weekly paper *Die Woche's* children's section.<sup>7</sup> He made several observations as to how literary tales in oral form appear in relation to their originals. The most striking difference is their reduced length. Up to four fifths of the original has been lost, and he points out that the part that has been lost is that which the authors were probably most proud of, moving descriptions of people and places, psychologically sharp characterizations and witty dialogues—these all disappear. None of these fit the oral tradition, which likes to stick to hard facts and actions. Something else that disappears is the beautifully ingenious symbolism which so many authors of

pseudo-folk tales like to put into their creations. Folk tales show very little of the symbolic implications (with the exception of the occasional finger waving pedagogically), which amateurs such as Bruno Bettelheim and other would have us see. On this point, artificial folk tales ("Kunstmärchen") have deviated from their folklore counterparts since Hans Christian Andersen's days. All of the observations of Ranke which I have cited here can undoubtedly be verified when one studies the popular oral versions of "La Belle et la Bête."

But the process of transfer from the written word to oral form is by no means totally negative. One really ought not to speak of mutilation of the original. Perhaps one should describe it as a slimming course. The result of this process is not ruin but reformation which generally has a fairly attractive appearance esthetically. Perhaps one should not talk about *de*-generation as the ethnologists have done on the question of folk art, but a *re*-generation, when going from one social stratum to another.

That which has survived most easily in the oral tradition from a literary work has been partly details such as names, albeit in a popular etymological form, and partly the main epic motifs. In this case the records from oral tradition of "La Belle et la Bête" are a good example. The most important happenings in a folk tale should occur in chronological order. No parallel developments, no backward glances are tolerated. The protagonists have no past when they enter the tale and their future is of no interest when they leave it. In the popular versions of Aa 425C one can easily establish that tendencies to such story-telling technique in the underlying French tale have been consistently eliminated, thus adding to their value.

So much for fakelore in the folk tale tradition, in which certain elements of "La Belle et la Bête" must also be included.

A more difficult category to assess is the records which have been made from printed works with authentic folk tales, either Perrault's, Grimm's, or Laboulaye's. It is self-evident that it must be difficult to determine with certainty to what extent 20th century folk tradition is identical to this category, from which these writers so frequently read took their material one or two hundred years earlier. If the later tradition was educated to agree with the printed versions under their influence, or quite simply, as Wesselski would have it, these classics to a large extent have created the later tradition. In regard to these texts there were no hindrances to the transfer to oral tradition which the fake tales' unpopular style encountered. One might think that folk traditions could easily assimilate the contents of these collections in their own form. We find ourselves here in a very difficult situation as researchers. We must above all avoid generalizations. Instead we must examine every tale type individually. One finds the most varying types of traditional influence. In the case of a tale closely



related to Aa 425, viz. "The Prince as Bird" (with Marie de France's lai "Yonec" amongst its ancestry), practically all Swedish and Finnish records can be traced back to a version in Laboulaye's "Contes bleus," which in translation became very popular in Scandinavia. If one does not note this dependence in this case on a literary original, then a dissemination map of the type would give a completely wrong impression. The most rewarding material for research of this kind is to be found, of course, in those printed texts in which the publisher has made considerable changes, e.g., joined together motifs from different tale types or from several tradition areas, or has made additions, abbreviations or changes of motifs which make these texts easy to recognize when they crop up in folk narrative traditions. A classical example of this is the above-mentioned Cinderella's slipper in Perrault's tale, a perfect "trace element" when examining the large amount of Cinderella tale records all over the world.

Concerning the influence which folk literature has had on oral tradition, one must make a fundamental distinction. Either it is a question of influence from texts which have originally been recorded in the same country and therefore deviate very little from the prevailing traditions of that country, e.g., the Brothers Grimm's tales in Germany or Perrault's in France. Or it deals with tales from foreign collections which can often, in detail, deviate considerably from older, domestic traditions. In the first instance it is, of course, very difficult to decide how much the printed versions have influenced the oral ones, but the conclusion that I have personally arrived at concerning Aa 425 is that this effect is marginal. I have found rather few copies of tales from classical, domestic collections in the folklore archives (which can naturally be consistent with the collector recognizing them and not bothering to write them down). In the case of the Scandinavian countries I have, however, been able to observe an interesting tendency which might possibly have such a background. When the work of recording folktales in Scandinavia was begun in the eighteen-forties both subtypes A and B of "The Search for the Lost Husband," type 425, were represented, but the subtype B, to which, e.g., Apuleius's tale of "Cupid and Psyche" belongs, strongly dominated the material from Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Subtype A (which ends with the three nights in the husband's bedroom) was sparsely represented. When the now "classic" collections in Sweden (by G.O. Hylltén-Cavallius) and Norway (by P.C. Asbjørnsen and J. Moe) were published, these collectors were so dependent upon the Brothers Grimm as model that they preferred to publish versions of the less common subtype A since it conformed better with the Grimms' "Das singende, springende Löwen-eckerchen," which was presumably taken to represent the tale's

"proper" shape. The same tendency towards similar choice as that of the Grimms can be found in several collections that were published around this time. Rather than choose a deviating version of a tale which might be more typical for the country or area in question the collectors chose a version which more closely resembled the Grimms' choice.

When, soon after, popular editions (broadsheets, children's books and so on) of the national folk tale classics began to be published in Norway and Sweden, it was consequently the less representative subtype which was reproduced instead of the more familiar domestic version. We can see in both Norway and Sweden how the unusual subtype has superceded the other subtype completely, so that it was hardly ever recorded during the twentieth century. If one compares this development with that in Denmark, where it was a version of subtype B which was printed in S. Grundtvig's anthology of folk tales, and where the proportions between A and B in the 20th century tradition were sure enough opposite from those in the neighboring countries, the chronological distribution of these subtypes appears to be more than an accident. Even if the printed versions in neither of the countries has directly influenced tradition in the form of "borrowings" from printed literature, the subtype A of the tale has in Norway and Sweden nevertheless been regarded as the "correct" type through influence of the publicity it has received in easily obtained popular prints. Of subtype C which, with the aid of "Magasin des enfants" was implanted into Scandinavian tradition during the first half of the 19th century and did not appear in any of the classics named above nor published separately, one can establish no obvious change in frequency during the 19th and 20th centuries.

The second special case concerning the influence of printed tales upon oral tradition is that of texts from foreign countries or from other tradition areas. It is primarily within this category that we shall range "La Belle et la Bête," even if its obvious fakelore elements entitled me to deal with it also in connection with that concept.

Subtype 425C appears when compared with subtype A, more as a fragment of the latter one, in which Mme de Ville-neuve and later Mme de Beaumont have mainly embellished the beginning: the father gets into a mess when he tries to fulfill his daughter's seemingly modest wish to have a rose from him when he returns from a journey. In both the ladies' versions not only is this obvious original beginning "rationalized" (see below) but is also given a number of digressions and additions. The father's ship sinks, he becomes destitute and the family must move to a little cottage in the country. He hears one day that one of his ships has arrived in port. He journeys to the port to claim his possessions but ends up in court and is again ruined.

The French ladies have “enriched” tradition on yet another point with a number of their own inventions, namely the depiction of the sojourn in the monster’s enchanted palace. As regards the breaking of the taboo and the transformation that follows, both ladies deviate, even when they do not agree, completely from tradition. The difference can partly be explained as a loan from d’Aulnoy’s “Le mouton” (which I have already pointed out) and partly by the fact that de Villeneuve probably got to know the tale in an abridged form, which for that matter does not lack counterparts among later records.

We have then, side by side in European tradition, a domestic and rather old—possibly medieval—traditional subtype A plus a tradition that is little more than two hundred years old and stems from a popular educational exercise book. Both of these versions, which number approx. 450 to 500 records in the first case and approx. 300 in the second, primarily have the introductory motif in common. In the subtype A within certain tradition areas, we regularly come across tales in which the father, who is going to the market, asks his daughters what they would like to have brought home. The youngest usually asks for something very peculiar—a jumping, singing bird or a twig with musical leaves or something equally difficult to find. As I just pointed out, the French literary tale changed this introduction. Instead of the heroine asking her father for something more or less impossible on his return, de Villeneuve and de Beaumont chose to underline and emphasize the youngest daughter’s modesty in comparison to the greedy sisters, by allowing her to be satisfied with something as banal as a rose. The father’s journey and business have then been embroidered with a number of very special motifs which completely lack the traditional variations of subtype A. The meeting between the form of this motif, that is traditional in many European countries, and the “literary” *conte de fées* version gives rise to several interesting observations.

Several questions automatically arise here. First, to what extent have the literary, printed versions (subtype C) affected the popular versions? Answer: exceedingly little. In a few records of Aa 425A the motif of the girl modestly requesting a rose, which we met in “La Belle et la Bête,” has replaced the motif common in subtype A that she requests a strange, magical object. In some cases the storyteller has exchanged the whole introduction of subtype A for the whole introduction of “La Belle et la Bête,” but in no case has this exchange spread and become traditional. That this influence from the printed version has become so minimal is really remarkable, since the number of popular recordings of it in some areas is equal to or exceeds that of the subtype A.

The next question is: In what way is the implanted literary version changed when the tale goes over to the oral tradition in

its entirety? We can first point to a series of details where the printed tale must be changed to fit with folklore's general stylistic principles. Something so abstract as "une Bête" is impossible in the function as a hero in a folktale. That vague conception must be made more concrete, e.g., in the form of some animal common in similar folktale plots, like a wolf or a bear. Because of the resemblance between "best," the Scandinavian equivalent to "beast," and "hest," the Scandinavian word for "horse," the hero is called "horse" in some Scandinavian versions. Details which serve no epic function, e.g., that the hero has a brother (who takes no part in the story), or the monster's account at the end of the story about the reasons for it being enchanted, which also breaks the "law" of folk tales that the events should follow in chronological order, or the father becoming a rich man thanks to the monster's generosity, or the heroine's noble character, good nature and modest way in comparison with her sisters—all these are peeled away, together with the printed tale's over-explicit tendency to pedagogy.

Furthermore—and more important from a folklore point of view—as far as the introduction is concerned we can notice an obvious tendency in the oral versions of "La Belle et la Bête" towards conformity with the introduction (the trip to the market) of subtype A. This development cannot be explained solely as a result of the general "popularization" of the artificial tale, which I stated above. That tendency cannot explain why in many tales of subtype C the motif of the girl wishing for a rose has been exchanged for the usual subtype A motif of her wishing for a strange bird or plant.

If in addition to that we look at the areas where subtype A exists without this introduction (i.e., the trip to the market), for example the Celtic peoples, the Balkan and the Mediterranean countries, we find that the introduction of the printed tale has preserved to a much greater extent after the changeover to oral tradition. This makes it possible for us to establish *that the existence of a traditional form of a folklore motif in a certain region constitutes a severe obstacle to the introduction of another, different form of the same motif.*

But even in cases where the literary tale has survived quite well, we can notice the influence form subtype A in other ways. Particularly in Germanic areas, in subtype A's introduction, we regularly meet with the motif of the father having been forced by the beast to let him have the first object or person to meet him on his return home, as an exchange for the magic article (The "Jephtha Vow"). The father makes his vow, convinced that as usual it will be his dog who will be the first to come rushing out to greet him, but instead it is his daughter, of course, who started out early in order to get her present.

This addition to the introduction is unknown in the areas of the Romance cultures but has, in accordance with its presence in subtype A, been added to the tale of "La Belle et la Bête" in several variants of the tale in the Germanic area. The same thing has happened to another distinctive motif in the introduction of subtype A, as told amongst the Germanic cultures. There the father tries to deceive the beast by giving him another child instead of his own daughter, e.g., the child of a servant. Even this motif, alien as it is to the original "La Belle et la Bête," has been added to several of the oral tales of the type 425C of Germanic origin.

The study of how and to what extent "La Belle et la Bête" has been altered or not at the changeover from printed book to oral tradition has revealed that the folklore tradition has acquired an inner resistance to change, particularly when it comes to modifying a traditionally well-established motif. This resistance presumably does not only exist in the encounter between a printed and an oral tale tradition but should equally well be present when two oral traditions meet. This rejection of alterations of well-known folk tale patterns is, of course, the reason behind the origin of and the stability of the geographically defined variations, whether you call them "ecotypes" or something else, in which most of the large international tale types appear.

But, as is so often the case in folklore, this tendency also has its opposite, of which it is easy to find examples (though not in "La Belle et la Bête"): an innovation can very quickly spread over a large area and more or less "knock out" previously well-established forms of a tale. My experience tells me that this has been particularly common when it comes to new variations connected to certain very mobile occupational groups, for example versions of old and well-known folk tale themes as told by soldiers, sailors or artisans. But more about that another time.

#### NOTES

1. For more examples, see my survey in *Cupid and Psyche* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1955), 299-312.

2. Antti Aarne & Stith Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale. Second Revision*, FF Communications No. 14 (Helsinki 1961: Suomalainen Tiedekatema), 140-146.

3. *Op cit.*, 29-35.

4. Albert Wesselski, *Versuch einer Theorie des Märchen*, Prager deutsche Studien 45 (Reichenbach i.B., 1931), 178, 180.

5. Ditlev Fehling, *Amor und Psyche. Die Schöpfung des Apuleius und ihre Einwirkung auf das Märchen, eine Kritik der romantischen Märchentheorie*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur (Mainz), *Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, Jahrgang 1977, Nr. 9 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1977). As regards his attacks on my above-mentioned work, see my severe criticism in *Psychemythos und Psychemärchen, Antiker Mythos in unseren Märchen* (ed. Wolfdietrich Sieg-

mund) (Kassel: Erich Röth-Verlag, 1984), 97-102. Wesselski's theories were skillfully and—as it seemed—definitively refuted by Walter Anderson already a few years after their publication (*Zu Albert Wesselskis Angriffen auf die finnische folkloristische Forschungsmethode*, Tartu, 1935), but it may look as if they have as many lives as a cat.

6. Hertha Grudde, *Plattdutsche Volksmärchen aus Ostpreussen* (Königsberg Pr. 1931).

7. Friedrich Ranke, "Kunstmärchen im Volksmund," *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 46 (1937/38), 123.

8. In an essay, *Jason och Medea i Kråksmåla, en småländsk sagoupp-teckning med kommentarer, Från Småland och Hellas, studier tillägnade Bror Olsson ...*, 1959, 321-230, also in *Folkdikt och folktro* (ed. Anna Birgitta Rooth), *Handböcker i etnologi* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1971), 76-91, I studied another oral "booklore" tale tradition, initiated by one of Laboulaye's *Contes bleus*, viz, type 313, "The Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight," and there I was able more in detail to verify most of Ranke's conclusions; so also in a yet unpublished investigation into a very special Swedish oral tradition of type 301, "The Three Stolen Princesses," produced by a 19th century broadsheet, "Lunkentus."

#### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Jan-Öjvind Swahn, born 1925, is a professor of folklore at the Åbo Akademi, the Swedish university in Åbo/Turku, Finland. He wrote a thesis on *The Tale of Cupid and Psyche* (1955) and has published several books concerning superstition, folk tales and popular food culture. Since 1974 he has taken part in a joint Scandinavian project dealing with the folklore of the Kammu people of Laos and Thailand, *Folk Tales from Kammu 1-4* (1978-88). From 1987 to 1989 he published seven volumes of folk tales from all parts of the world with introductions and commentaries to the texts.

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